

of Virginia and other Southern States, that they continued the slave trade till 1808. They had the monopoly of the shipping; they bought or stole them on the African coast, and brought them here, and sold them here; they kept them so long as it was profitable and when it ceased to be profitable, they sold them to the South. So it has been with the abolitionists in the North, and so it has been in a very great degree with the abolitionists in this State.

But, sir, there is another influence at work, at this particular time. The civil war, now devastating and rending this once fair land, is made the occasion and pretext for urging emancipation. I suppose there is hardly a single gentleman in this Hall, who believes that emancipation would be urged in this State, as it is, had it not been for this war. I do not care who hears it, or who knows it, my firm conviction is, that the interests of Maryland are but secondary, and that the first purpose of the emancipationists is to make Maryland a free State, so that being a free State she may link her destinies with the free States in the separation to take place, and that there may be no inducements, so far as slavery is concerned, for her to go South. Indeed, the gentleman (Mr. Daniel) substantially so avowed. That, sir, I believe to be the beginning and the end, the sum and purpose of the whole movement.

Gentlemen tell us "that slavery made the war;" that "slavery, like Acteon, has been eaten up by his own dogs;" that "slavery has lifted its parricidal hand and stricken down the best government that ever lived." Sir, slavery has done no such thing. Slavery has made no war upon this government. I believe that the slave States have ever, been, ay, are this day, far truer to the government of this land, as our fathers made it, than the Northern States. The hand that struck that blow, was the red hand of abolition that has been upraised against the nation's life, certainly for thirty years. It is to be found in the echoes and utterances and teachings of your Theodore Parkers, your Wendell Phillips, your higher-law men, your Seward, now Secretary of State, who inaugurated that infamous higher-law doctrine, and he sits to-day and coolly and with unblushing effrontery defiantly tells the American people, that "he can touch a bell upon his left hand or upon his right and cause the arrest and incarceration of any man within the limits of this broad land, and that there is no power to save him," and unhappily he speaks truly.

I said that I did not believe slavery was the cause of this war. It has been made the pretext for it. Sir, slavery existed here long before the sound of the cannon was heard or the bright glitter of the bayonet was seen. It existed when peace shed its mild, benignant ray from North to South, and there

was a bond of brotherhood seen and felt, that bound us together "as with hooks of steel," from the Lakes to the Gulf, and from the shores of the Atlantic to the far distant Pacific. It has been here for more than three-quarters of a century. It was here before the nation was born, whilst yet we were Colonies of Great Britain. It has been here ever since, and never was there strife in the land because of it until within the last three years, when abolitionists struck down the Constitution, and reared in place of it, the banner inscribed with the doctrines of "the higher law."

Gentlemen tell us that the war commenced by the firing on Fort Sumter, and the "Star of the West." Sir, they speak as though the firing upon Fort Sumter was the dawning of creation. Why, sir, that was but the sequel, the result of causes that had their origin away back in a score of years. It was the very purpose, the object for which your Wendell Phillipses had agitated and schemed, and for which your Parkers and Cheevers had preached treason until their efforts and their collaborators in treason and crime had debauched the public sentiment of the entire North to such a degree that Union was no longer possible, even if it were desirable. Sir, nothing would content them but the utter extinction of slavery; and when, after years of agitation, their efforts culminated in the election of the present Executive, the storm came and war burst upon us. Sir, listen to what Mr. Theodore Parker says in a letter dated June 27th, 1856: "What a state of things we have in politics, the beginning of the end. I take it we can elect Fremont, if so the battle is fought and the worst part of the contest is over. If Buchanan is elected I don't believe the Union holds out three years. I shall go for dissolution."

In another letter, addressed to Professor Desor, he says: "If Fremont is not elected, then I look forward to what is worse than civil war in the other form, viz: a long series of usurpations on the part of the slave power, and of concessions by the North, until we are forced to take the initiative of revolution at the North; that will be the worst form of the case, for then the worst fighting will be among the Northern men, between the friends of freedom and the hunkers. I expect civil war, and make my calculations accordingly."

And again, in a letter to John P. Hale, he says: "If Buchanan is President I think the Union does not hold out his four years. It must end in civil war, which I have been preparing for these six months past, &c. I buy no books, except for pressing need. Last year I bought \$1,500 worth. This year I shall not order \$200 worth, I may want the money for cannon."

And in his journal he says: "Of course we shall fight. I have expected civil war for months. Now I buy no more books for the present. Nay, I think affairs may come to